

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1,011 adults  
Dates: January 16-18, 1999

48 Male  
52 Female  
[109]

## FINAL

Study #4095  
NBC/WSJ  
January 1999

**Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise noted.**

1a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>2/91+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	49	47	55	51	45	45	50	53	47	65	14	[140]
Wrong track.....	38	38	31	35	39	39	35	32	34	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	10	12	12	11	13	13	12	12	16	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>6/93</u>	
Approve.....	68	65	68	66	64	63	66	66	62	68	41	[141]
Disapprove.....	29	31	29	31	30	30	29	28	30	29	50	
Not sure.....	3	4	3	3	6	7	5	6	8	3	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>1/99*</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>4/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/93</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	78	72	74	75	69	70	76	76	65	76	40	40	[142]
Disapprove.....	17	21	21	19	23	22	16	17	25	16	51	51	
Not sure.....	5	7	5	6	8	8	8	7	10	8	9	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>1/99**</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	65	61	70	63	58	53	63	61	54	70	32	[143]
Disapprove.....	28	30	26	29	31	36	27	31	34	26	60	
Not sure.....	7	9	4	8	11	11	10	8	12	4	8	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2d. Compared with the past several presidents, do you feel that Bill Clinton will turn out to be one of the very best, better than most, not as good as most, or definitely worse than most of them? \*\*

One of the very best.....	12	<b>[144]</b>
Better than most.....	38	
Not as good as most.....	26	
Definitely worse than most.....	19	
Not sure.....	5	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

*Compared with these past eight presidents, do you feel that **Ronald Reagan** will turn out to be one of the very best, better than most, not as good as most, or definitely worse than most of them?*

	<u>1981<sup>1</sup></u>
One of the very best.....	11
Better than most.....	44
Not as good as most.....	28
Definitely worse than most.....	9
Not sure.....	8

<sup>1</sup> Results from a 1981 survey conducted by Lou Harris.

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very</u> <u>Positive</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Negative</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Negative</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u> <u>Name/</u> <u>Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							<b>[145]</b>
January 1999.....	27	24	12	11	25	1	
December 1998.....	25	26	13	10	26	-	
October 1998+.....	25	26	10	12	26	1	
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
July 1998.....	24	26	17	15	18	-	
June 1998.....	24	30	14	12	20	-	
April 1998.....	27	29	13	11	19	1	
April 2, 1998.....	23	21	20	13	22	1	
February 1998.....	29	28	14	12	17	-	
January 17-19, 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positiv e	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Al Gore</b>							[146]
January 1999 *	17	24	29	15	12	3	
December 1998.....	17	25	27	13	15	3	
September 1998.....	16	25	32	12	13	2	
July 1998.....	16	26	31	12	13	2	
June 1998.....	18	26	31	10	13	2	
April 1998.....	16	29	29	12	11	3	
February 1998.....	18	29	27	12	11	3	
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
<b>Trent Lott</b>							[147]
January 1999 *	5	14	28	10	9	34	
December 1997.....	3	7	18	9	6	57	
October 1997.....	3	9	22	7	3	56	
July 1997.....	5	11	18	7	4	55	
June 1997.....	5	10	19	7	4	55	
April 1997.....	6	10	17	4	2	61	
March 1997.....	4	11	19	5	3	58	
January 1997.....	6	10	14	3	2	65	
December 1996.....	5	9	18	4	2	62	
<b>William Rehnquist *</b>							[148]
January 1999.....	13	15	28	5	2	37	
<b>The Republican Party</b>							[149]
January 1999 *	13	23	20	18	24	2	
December 1998.....	10	23	26	21	18	2	
October 1998+.....	13	24	22	21	19	1	
September 1998.....	14	27	29	15	14	1	
April 1998.....	10	27	30	18	13	2	
January 1998.....	9	29	30	18	12	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1995.....	17	33	25	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
October 1998+.....	13	24	22	21	19	1	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Hillary Rodham Clinton</b>							[150]
January 1999 **	35	23	16	11	14	1	
December 1998	33	21	17	11	17	1	
October 1998+	32	24	15	12	16	1	
September 1998	29	21	20	12	18	-	
July 1998	22	24	25	13	14	2	
June 1998	26	22	21	11	19	1	
April 1998	26	25	19	13	16	1	
February 1998	27	25	19	11	17	1	
January 17-19, 1998	20	25	21	16	16	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993	27	30	21	8	8	6	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+	14	20	19	17	27	3	
<b>The Democratic Party</b>							[151]
January 1999 **	18	27	27	16	10	2	
December 1998	18	28	25	16	11	2	
October 1998+	13	29	28	16	12	2	
September 1998	15	25	33	17	9	1	
April 1998	15	27	29	15	12	2	
January 1998	13	30	30	16	9	2	
<i>High</i>							
October 20-21, 1992+	19	29	22	15	12	3	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994	10	23	25	24	16	2	
<b>Kenneth Starr</b>							[152]
January 1999 **	8	17	17	17	37	4	
December 1998	14	16	15	14	36	5	
October 1998+	12	14	15	16	40	3	
September 1998	12	13	23	16	33	3	
July 1998	10	13	18	14	36	9	
June 1998	9	11	21	16	33	10	
April 1998	7	11	20	15	33	14	
February 1998	7	13	20	15	26	19	
February 7, 1998	7	12	21	15	24	21	
January 31, 1998	8	10	25	11	22	24	
January 24, 1998	8	12	22	11	14	33	
June 1997	4	10	19	8	6	53	
March 1997	2	8	18	6	6	60	
<b>Dennis Hastert **</b>							[153]
January 1999	1	5	16	2	2	74	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

4. What would you say are the two or three most important issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about? **(ACCEPT NO MORE THAN THREE RESPONSES.)**

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
<b><u>ECONOMY</u></b>	<b><u>23</u></b>	<b><u>22</u></b>	<b><u>26</u></b>	<b><u>28</u></b>	<b><u>22</u></b>	<b><u>32</u></b>	<b><u>48</u></b>	
Farm problems, agriculture, drought.....	3	1	1	1	-	1	-	[154]
Inflation, prices.....	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	>
Interest rates.....	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	
Jobs, unemployment.....	11	10	12	16	13	20	25	
New industry needed.....	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	
Trade, limit imports <sup>1</sup> .....	2	1	1	-	1	1	2	
Trade, expand exports <sup>1</sup> .....	1	1	-	-	NA	NA	NA	
Wages, better jobs.....	5	5	3	3	2	2	2	
Financial problems in Asia.....	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Economy generally <sup>2</sup> .....	NA	NA	11	10	6	9	22	
Other economic issues.....	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
<b><u>FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE</u></b>	<b><u>19</u></b>	<b><u>17</u></b>	<b><u>9</u></b>	<b><u>12</u></b>	<b><u>10</u></b>	<b><u>10</u></b>	<b><u>17</u></b>	
Defense spending--cut defense budget.....	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	[155]
Defense--strengthen.....	4	4	2	1	2	2	1	>
Foreign aid--reduce.....	2	4	2	3	4	3	2	
Foreign policy.....	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	
Middle East, Iraq.....	6	6	-	-	-	-	5	
Russia, former Soviet republics.....	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race.....	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	
Bosnia, Serbia, Yugoslavia.....	1	1	-	3	-	1	1	
<b><u>CRIME/DRUGS</u></b>	<b><u>14</u></b>	<b><u>23</u></b>	<b><u>30</u></b>	<b><u>39</u></b>	<b><u>35</u></b>	<b><u>43</u></b>	<b><u>13</u></b>	
Gun control--against.....	2	2	1	1	1	3	-	[156]
Gun control--for.....	2	3	2	2	2	5	1	>
TV violence.....	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	
Crime, violence.....	7	14	22	33	30	33	9	
Drugs.....	4	7	12	8	7	11	6	
<b><u>TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING</u></b>	<b><u>16</u></b>	<b><u>21</u></b>	<b><u>27</u></b>	<b><u>26</u></b>	<b><u>31</u></b>	<b><u>23</u></b>	<b><u>35</u></b>	
Budget deficit.....	3	6	13	13	13	7	24	[157]
Government waste, mismanagement.....	3	4	4	5	6	5	5	>
Taxes--too high.....	6	7	7	4	9	5	6	
Taxes--unfair.....	3	3	2	3	4	1	4	
Government spending.....	1	3	3	3	3	-	-	
Government too big <sup>3</sup> .....	2	2	1	2	-	-	-	
More control over IRS, regulation.....	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
<b><u>SOCIAL PROBLEMS</u></b>	<b><u>48</u></b>	<b><u>49</u></b>	<b><u>53</u></b>	<b><u>46</u></b>	<b><u>51</u></b>	<b><u>34</u></b>	<b><u>37</u></b>	
Children, day care, other children's issues.....	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	[158]
Education, schools.....	23	22	23	24	13	14	14	>
Welfare, reform.....	6	10	19	12	25	6	3	
Homelessness, housing.....	6	8	6	5	9	13	13	
Poverty, help the poor.....	6	6	4	5	5	4	3	
AIDS.....	-	1	-	1	1	1	3	
Social Security, senior citizens.....	18	9	14	7	6	4	3	

<sup>1</sup> Prior to December 1995, trade was listed as one item, and was titled "trade, imports."

<sup>2</sup> After January 1997, the response "economy generally" was no longer coded; respondents were probed for specifics.

<sup>3</sup> Prior to January 1997, category was titled "less government/interference in our lives."

Q.4. (cont'd.)

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
<b>HEALTH CARE</b> <sup>4</sup>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>38</b>	
Cost.....	6	7	7	6	14	21	NA	[159]
Access.....	6	5	6	5	11	13	NA	>
Quality.....	3	3	5	3	5	6	NA	
Medicare.....	5	6	8	-	-	-	NA	
<b>OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19</b>	
Abortion--pro-choice.....	-	1	2	1	1	1	4	[160]
Abortion--pro-life.....	1	3	3	2	3	2	5	>
CLINTON-LEWINSKY SCANDAL/IMPEACHMENT....	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Censorship, limiting free speech.....	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	
Morality, values, TV shows.....	5	4	5	8	3	4	3	
Racism.....	1	4	3	3	2	2	1	
Environment, pollution, toxic wastes.....	3	3	4	2	2	2	3	
Government corruption/ethics in government.....	3	4	2	3	2	2	2	
Campaign finance reform.....	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	
Reforming Congress.....	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Immigration issues.....	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	
<b>Other</b> .....	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>None/not sure</b> .....	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	

<sup>4</sup> Prior to January 1995, category was titled "Health care, costs," and was not broken into cost, access, and quality components.

5. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>				<u>9/96+</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
		<u>25<sup>n</sup></u>	<u>24<sup>n</sup></u>	<u>22<sup>nd</sup></u>							
Extremely confident.....	17	14	13	17	12	9	11	11	11	12	[167]
Quite confident.....	18	25	20	21	24	19	17	19	19	22	
Only somewhat confident.....	26	25	32	26	30	40	36	37	37	39	
Not at all confident.....	37	33	33	32	30	30	34	31	31	25	
Not sure.....	2	3	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	
		<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>11/1/92<sup>+</sup></u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>10/92<sup>+</sup></u>	<u>9/92<sup>+</sup></u>				
		11	16	11	13	14	9				
		24	31	21	25	27	23				
		38	37	34	41	30	37				
		25	13	31	19	26	28				
		2	3	3	2	3	3				

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 6a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	
										<u>9/98</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	50	44	48	61	53	48	51	57	47	61	22	[168]
Disapprove.....	40	42	39	28	31	37	34	29	32	28	69	
Not sure.....	10	14	13	11	16	15	15	14	21	11	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters

6b. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country--President Clinton or the Congress?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/96</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94+</u>	
President Clinton.....	38	28	35	35	38	34	38	33	31	30	[169]
Congress.....	43	49	43	45	44	43	44	54	55	55	
Shared/equal role (VOL) ..	12	17	14	12	12	18	14	6	8	11	
Neither (VOL).....	5	4	4	5	3	2	2	3	2	1	
Not sure.....	2	2	4	3	3	3	2	4	4	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

7. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities by which a president might be judged. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton on that quality using a scale from one to five, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between one and five, depending on how strongly you feel. \*

	Very Good <u>4-5</u>	<u>3</u>	Very Poor <u>1-2</u>	Cannot Rate <u>Rate</u>	
<b>His ethical and moral values</b>					[170]
January 1999.....	13	19	67	1	
September 1998.....	10	16	73	1	
December 1995.....	37	32	30	1	
October 1995.....	40	31	28	1	
July 1995.....	32	32	35	1	
April 21-25, 1995.....	36	31	32	1	
January 1995.....	32	30	37	1	
October 1994.....	26	37	36	1	
May 1994.....	32	29	36	3	
January 1994.....	33	35	30	2	
October 1993.....	43	30	26	1	
January 1993.....	50	29	20	1	
<b>Caring about average people</b>					[171]
January 1999.....	53	22	25	-	
September 1998.....	52	22	26	-	
December 1995.....	52	27	21	-	
July 1995.....	50	23	26	1	
April 21-25, 1995.....	58	18	22	2	
January 1995.....	56	23	21	-	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.7. * (cont'd)	Very Good 4-5	3	Very Poor 1-2	Cannot Rate	
<b>Serving as commander-in-chief</b>					[172]
January 1999.....	51	18	30	1	
September 1998.....	51	20	28	1	
December 1995.....	38	28	33	1	
October 1995.....	40	29	29	2	
July 1995.....	34	28	37	1	
April 21-25, 1995.....	37	31	31	1	
January 1995.....	34	34	31	1	
October 1994.....	37	26	36	1	
June 1994.....	31	34	34	1	
May 1994.....	32	37	30	1	
January 1994.....	40	29	29	2	
October 1993.....	32	32	35	1	
January 1993.....	43	39	16	2	
<b>Being effective and getting things done</b>					[173]
January 1999.....	63	21	16	-	
September 1998.....	54	27	19	-	
December 1995.....	27	34	39	-	
<b>Being a role model for our children</b>					[174]
January 1999.....	12	19	68	1	
September 1998.....	10	17	73	-	
<b>Telling the truth</b>					[175]
January 1999.....	11	21	68	-	
September 1998.....	8	15	77	-	
December 1995.....	28	30	39	3	
October 1995.....	32	31	34	3	
July 1995.....	27	30	41	2	
April 21-25, 1995.....	30	29	39	2	
January 1995.....	25	32	41	2	
June 1994.....	26	28	43	3	
May 1994.....	28	28	40	4	
<b>Being consistent and standing up for his beliefs</b>					[176]
January 1999.....	45	20	34	1	
September 1998.....	34	24	41	1	
December 1995.....	40	22	38	-	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

8. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat.....	18	Skip to Q.9b	[177]
Not very strong Democrat.....	11		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	10		
Strictly independent.....	21	Skip to Q.9c	
Independent/lean Republican.....	8	CONTINUE	
Not very strong Republican.....	11		
Strong Republican.....	12		
Other.....	6	Skip to Q.9c	
Not sure/nothing.....	3		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS IN Q.8.)

- 9a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Republicans								
	1/99	12/98	9/98	4/98	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97	
Texas Governor George Bush...	36	52	41	40	26	24	20	24	[178-179]
Elizabeth Dole.....	26	11	10	NA	14	14	15	16	
Jack Kemp.....	8	7	11	NA	16	14	14	17	
Dan Quayle.....	8	7	8	14	6	7	10	9	
John McCain.....	5	NA	NA	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Steve Forbes.....	4	6	7	11	10	11	7	8	
Pat Buchanan.....	4	4	4	4	6	4	4	6	
Lamar Alexander.....	1	2	2	3	4	2	5	3	
Newt Gingrich.....	NA	NA	5	5	5	4	5	NA	
None/other (VOL).....	1	4	7	8	-	11	13	8	
Not sure.....	7	7	5	10	13	9	7	9	

NOTE: An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

**(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS IN Q.8.)**

- 9b. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Democratic primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Democrats							
	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	
Al Gore.....	45	49	51	45	47	52	56	<b>[180]</b>
Bill Bradley.....	13	12	12	14	13	11	9	
Jesse Jackson.....	11	11	NA	NA	9	9	8	
Richard Gephardt.....	9	7	12	8	7	8	6	
John Kerry.....	4	2	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Bob Kerrey.....	NA	3	4	4	5	4	4	
None/other (VOL).....	6	7	4	NA	5	7	11	
Not sure.....	12	9	14	29	14	9	6	

**NOTE:** An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

- 9c. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Elizabeth Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

Al Gore.....	38	<b>[208]</b>
Elizabeth Dole.....	47	
Neither/other (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	7	

- 9d. If anything happens to President Clinton, do you feel that Vice President Gore is or is not ready to assume duties as president now?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>9/98</u>	
Vice President Gore is ready.....	66	61	<b>[209]</b>
Vice President Gore is not ready.....	29	33	
Not sure.....	5	6	

- 9e. Which of the following best describes how you personally will follow President Clinton's impeachment trial in the U.S. Senate? Will you: (A) make a special effort to read about or closely follow the trial, (B) look at the trial only as part of the general news coverage, or (C) try to avoid reading and listening to stories about the trial?

A/Make a special effort to follow the trial.....	27	<b>[210]</b>
B/Look at the trial only as part of the news.....	51	
C/Try to avoid reading/listening to stories about the trial.....	21	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

- 10a. Now that the House of Representatives has passed articles of impeachment against President Clinton and sent the matter to the U.S. Senate, which one of the following do you think is the best way to bring the impeachment issue to an end -- (A) move to dismiss the charges as soon as possible, (B) hold a full-scale trial with witnesses, to determine whether or not to remove President Clinton from office, or (C) have a limited trial without any witnesses, take a preliminary vote, and try to negotiate a censure compromise?

	<u>1/16- 18/99</u>		<u>1/11- 12/99</u>	
A -- Move to dismiss the charges as soon as possible.....	26	<b>CONTINUE</b>	30	<b>[211]</b>
B -- Hold a full-scale trial.....	31		31	
C -- Have a limited trial/censure compromise.....	40	<b>Skip to Q.10c</b>	37	
Other (VOL).....	2		2	
Not sure.....	1		-	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY DISMISS THE CHARGES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN Q.10a.)**

- 10b. Which one of the following statements best describes why you think the matter should not go any further?

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

The whole thing has been nothing more than a Republican attempt to bring down President Clinton.....	32	<b>[212]</b>
The charges against President Clinton are not important enough to warrant impeachment.....	25	
It is inappropriate to have these private matters discussed in the news....	19	
A trial will distract Congress and President Clinton from more important business.....	12	
A trial will endanger our current political and economic stability.....	4	
Other (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

- 10c. In a Senate trial, do you think that the Senate should or should not call witnesses, including Monica Lewinsky, to testify?

	<u>1/16- 18/99</u>	<u>1/11- 12/99</u>	
Should call witnesses.....	41	44	<b>[213]</b>
Should not call witnesses.....	55	52	
Not sure.....	4	4	

- 11a. Do you think that the U.S. Senate should or should not convict President Clinton and remove him from office?

	<u>1/16- 18/99</u>	<u>1/11- 12/99</u>	
Should convict President Clinton and remove him from office.....	32	36	<b>[214]</b>
Should not convict President Clinton and remove him from office...	60	57	
Not sure.....	8	7	

**PRIOR TO IMPEACHMENT BY HOUSE**

*Should Congress impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office?*

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98</u>
Yes, should impeach and remove from office.....	28	24
No, should not impeach and remove from office..	68	71
Not sure.....	4	5

11b. Do you think that President Clinton should or should not resign from office?

	<u>1/99</u>	<u>9/21/98</u>	<u>9/10- 13/98</u>	<u>8/20/98</u>	
Should resign.....	39	36	34	28	[215]
Should not resign.....	57	60	61	65	
Depends (VOL) <sup>1</sup> .....	NA	2	3	3	
Not sure.....	4	2	2	4	

<sup>1</sup> Prior to January 1999, the volunteered response "depends" was reported separately.

12. If a vote in the U.S. Senate to convict President Clinton and remove him from office does not pass, do you think that the matter should be dropped altogether, or do you think that the Senate should then pass a resolution to censure him?

Should be dropped altogether.....	52	[216]
Should censure.....	44	
Not sure.....	4	

13. While you may have a preferred course of action on this matter, I'm going to read you a number of possible outcomes that the U.S. Senate might arrive at in dealing with President Clinton's impeachment trial. For each one, please tell me whether that Senate action would be acceptable or unacceptable to you.

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY ACCEPTABLE*

	<u>Acceptable</u>	<u>Unacceptable</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Censure and being required to admit that he lied under oath.....	55	41	4	[220]
Censure with a financial fine.....	53	43	4	[219]
Censure but no financial fine.....	46	50	4	[218]
Conviction and removal from office.....	42	57	1	[217]
No censure or removal from office.....	41	57	2	[221]

14. As part of a possible censure agreement with the U.S. Senate, do you think that President Clinton should or should not be required to admit lying under oath?

Should be required to admit lying under oath.....	58	[222]
Should not be required to admit lying under oath.....	36	
Not sure.....	6	

15. Which of the following statements better describes your feelings about having an impeachment trial in the U.S. Senate?

**Statement A:** A Senate trial will hurt the nation, because things will not get done and will become too partisan and polarized.

**Statement B:** A Senate trial will not hurt the nation, because things will continue to get done and we will be able to work through our differences.

	<u>1/16- 18/99</u>	<u>1/11- 12/99</u>	<u>12/19/98</u>	
Statement A/will hurt nation.....	51	45	56	[223]
Statement B/will not hurt nation.....	44	51	39	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	3	
Not sure.....	3	2	2	

16. Do you think all Senate proceedings regarding the impeachment trial of President Clinton should or should not be open to the press and the public?

Should be open to the press and public.....	68	[224]
---	----	-------

Should not be open to the press and public..... 29  
Not sure..... 3

17. Which approach would you prefer that the U.S. Senate take in dealing with the President's impeachment trial -- (A) put off other legislative business and deal only with the Clinton matter, in order to conclude the matter as soon as possible, OR (B) conduct other legislative business while dealing with the Clinton matter and possibly extend the time that the Senate devotes to the matter?

A/Deal only with the Clinton matter..... 35 [225]  
B/Conduct other legislative business while dealing with the Clinton matter..... 58  
Neither/other (VOL)..... 4  
Not sure..... 3

18. Which of these charges about President Clinton bothers you the most -- (A) that he had sexual relations with a White House intern, (B) that he lied in federal grand jury proceedings, OR (C) that he lied to the American people?

A/He had sexual relations with a White House intern..... 8 [227]  
B/He lied in federal grand jury proceedings..... 37  
C/He lied to the American people..... 39  
None of these/other (VOL)..... 14  
Not sure..... 2

19. Do you think that President Clinton has the ability to continue leading the country, or do you believe that he has lost his ability to lead the country?

	1/16- 18/99*	1/21/99	9/21/98	
Has the ability to continue leading the country.....	69	65	65	[228]
Has lost his ability to lead the country .....	30	32	32	
Depends (VOL) <sup>1</sup> .....	NA	1	1	
Not sure.....	1	2	2	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

<sup>1</sup> Prior to January 1999, the volunteered response "depends" was reported separately.

<i>Do you think that the recent allegations against President Clinton will or will not seriously affect his ability to lead the country in the remaining three years of his term?</i>					
	<u>9/12/98</u>	<u>8/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2-3/98</u>
Will seriously affect his ability to lead the country.....	69	52	37	24	28
Will not seriously affect his ability to lead the country.....	28	44	60	70	66
Not sure.....	2	4	3	6	6

20. Which of the following better describes President Clinton's prospects for his last two years in office -- (A) that he will recover from impeachment and be a strong leader, OR (B) that he will be compromised by impeachment and not be a strong leader? \*\*

A/He will recover from impeachment/be a strong leader.....	45	<b>[229]</b>
B/He will be compromised by impeachment/not be a strong leader....	47	
Neither/other (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

21. Do you think that the Monica Lewinsky matter has or has not done permanent damage to Bill Clinton's effectiveness as president?

	<u>1/99*</u>	<u>8/20/98</u>	
Has done permanent damage.....	59	56	<b>[230]</b>
Has not done permanent damage.....	39	38	
Not sure.....	2	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 22a. If a person holding high public office committed adultery in the past, do you think that that person lacks the personal character and integrity to hold that office, or not?

	<u>1/16- 18/99*</u>	<u>1/11- 12/99</u>	
Yes, lacks the personal character and integrity.....	21	23	<b>[231]</b>
No, does not lack the personal character and integrity. .	73	68	
Not sure.....	6	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 22b. If a person holding high public office committed adultery in the past -- and had previously denied it -- do you think that that person lacks the personal character and integrity to hold that office, or not? \*\*

Yes, lacks the personal character and integrity.....	32	<b>[232]</b>
No, does not lack the personal character and integrity.....	61	
Not sure.....	7	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

23. Do you think that a candidate running for high public office should or should not be asked whether they have ever committed adultery?

Yes, should be asked about adultery.....	15	<b>[233]</b>
No, should not be asked about adultery.....	81	
Not sure.....	4	

24. Do you think that the media attention and scrutiny created by the Monica Lewinsky matter will or will not result in fewer qualified people running for president in the future? \*\*

Will result in fewer qualified people running for office.....	54	<b>[234]</b>
Will not result in fewer qualified people running for office....	37	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

#### Now I'd like to ask you some questions about specific issues.

- 25a. As you may know, there is a proposal to increase defense spending next year. Supporters say that the additional funding is necessary, because defense spending has become a smaller proportion of the total

budget as other programs have grown, because new high-technology weapons are needed to replace aging equipment, and for a pay raise for military personnel. Opponents say that additional funding is not necessary, because the Soviet threat is gone and because spending in other segments of the defense budget can be cut in order to buy new equipment. Based on this information, do you favor or oppose an increase in defense spending, or would you keep it the same? \*

Favor.....	56	<b>[235]</b>
Oppose.....	13	
Keep it the same.....	28	
Not sure.....	3	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 25b. In which one of the following areas would you like to see spending increased from additional money in the federal budget? \*\*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Health care for senior citizens.....	29	<b>[236]</b>
Children's health care.....	22	
Construction of new schools.....	22	
National defense improvements.....	11	
All (VOL).....	14	
None/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 25c. As you may know, some experts think that the federal government will have a surplus of funds in the next few years. If there is a budget surplus this year, for which one of the following would you like to see the surplus funds used? \*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Guaranteeing the financial stability of the Social Security system...	45	<b>[237]</b>
Spending increases for domestic programs, such as health care and education.....	29	
Returning the money to the taxpayers in the form of lower taxes....	22	
None/other (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 25d. Thinking ahead to a year from now, do you think that the value of the stock market will be much higher, somewhat higher, about the same, somewhat lower, or much lower than it is today?

	<u>1/99**</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	
Much higher.....	5	6	7	[238]
Somewhat higher.....	27	30	31	
About the same.....	35	32	35	
Somewhat lower.....	16	19	15	
Much lower.....	6	7	4	
Not sure.....	11	6	8	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 25e. Which of the following do you consider to be a bigger threat to your financial security? \*

Economic problems within the United States.....	44	[239]
Economic problems in other countries that do business with the United States.	41	
Both (VOL).....	10	
Neither/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	3	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

### Getting near the end . . .

- 26a. Do you think that last month's military bombing strikes against Iraq were or were not a success for the United States? \*\*

Were a success.....	36	[240]
Were not a success.....	44	
Mixed (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	11	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 26b. As you may know, Iraq attempted to shoot down American and British planes that were patrolling no-fly zones over Iraq. If Iraq continues to attempt to shoot down American and British planes patrolling the no-fly zone, which do you think should be the U.S. response -- (A) an attack aimed at the troops that fire on American planes, OR (B) another broad military bombing campaign against a wide range of strategic targets in Iraq? \*

A/Attack aimed at troops that fire on American planes.....	49	[241]
B/Broad military bombing campaign against a wide range of targets.....	37	
Neither/other (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	7	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 27a. As you may know, Russia continues to experience economic difficulties that some fear may threaten the country's stability. Do you think that the United States should or should not participate with other countries to provide financial assistance to help stabilize Russia? \*

Should participate with other countries.....	55	<b>[242]</b>
Should not participate with other countries.....	33	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 27b. As you may know, China has been cracking down on political debate by arresting and detaining dissidents and human-rights advocates. To try to stop these actions, do you think that the U.S. can be more effective with China by using quiet diplomacy, or by taking public actions such as cutting back on economic ties? \*\*

Using quiet diplomacy.....	41	<b>[243]</b>
Taking public actions.....	42	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Other (VOL).....	2	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	10	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 27c. In the hopes of competing better with the U.S. dollar, eleven European countries have just launched their own united currency, called the Euro. Do you think that the Euro does or does not threaten American economic power? \*\*

Does threaten American economic power.....	27	<b>[244]</b>
Does not threaten American economic power.....	58	
Not sure.....	15	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

28. As you may know, a potential problem with some computers has been identified, because they are not programmed to understand dates beginning in the year 2000. This is sometimes called the "Y2K problem." In your opinion, is the Y2K problem a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, or not that serious of a problem? \*

Very serious problem.....	28	<b>[245]</b>
Somewhat serious problem.....	46	
Not that serious of a problem.....	20	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

29. How much interest do you have in tracing your family roots -- a great deal of interest, quite a bit, just some, or no interest at all? \*\*

A great deal of interest.....	29	<b>[246]</b>
Quite a bit of interest.....	20	
Just some interest.....	32	
No interest at all.....	17	
Not sure.....	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

30. As you may know, there are charges that Salt Lake City officials provided bribes, gifts, and favors to members of the International Olympic Committee in order to win the right to host the 2002 Winter Olympics. Do you think that Salt Lake City still deserves or does not deserve to host the 2002 Winter Olympics? \*

Deserves to host the Olympics.....	44	[247]
Does not deserve to host the Olympics.....	45	
Not sure.....	11	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

31. Would you like to see Hillary Rodham Clinton elected to the U.S. Senate, or not?

Yes, would like to see HRC elected to the U.S. Senate.....	46	[248]
No, would not like to see HRC elected to the U.S. Senate.....	45	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	6	

**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1a. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18 - 24.....	9	[249-250]
25 - 29.....	8	
30 - 34.....	9	Skip to Q.F2
35 - 39.....	10	
40 - 44.....	12	
45 - 49.....	11	
50 - 54.....	9	
55 - 59.....	7	CONTINUE
60 - 64.....	6	
65 and over.....	17	
Refused/not sure.....	2	Skip to Q.F2

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE AGE 45 OR OLDER IN Q.F1a)**

F1b. Do you happen to have any grandchildren at this time? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** And what is the age of your youngest grandchild?

Have grandchildren -- youngest is age 14 or younger.....	51	[251]
Have grandchildren -- youngest is over age 14.....	10	
Do not have grandchildren.....	39	
Not sure.....	-	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school

Grade school.....	1	[252-253]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	28	
Some college, no degree.....	22	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	4	
2-3 years postgraduate work/master's degree...	8	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F3a. Are you currently employed? **(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do? **(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

Professional/manager.....	27	[254-255]
White collar worker.....	20	
Blue collar worker.....	17	
Farmer.....	-	

Student.....	3
Homemaker.....	7
Retiree.....	22
Unemployed.....	3
Not sure/refused.....	1

**(ASK ONLY OF WOMEN.)**

F3b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	29	<b>[262]</b>
Do not work outside the home.....	22	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think that your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	8	<b>[263]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	17	
Moderate.....	29	
Somewhat conservative.....	24	
Very conservative.....	9	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	10	
Not sure.....	3	

F5a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered.....	85	<b>[264]</b>
Not registered.....	13	
Not sure.....	2	

F5b. Did you happen to vote in the 1998 election for U.S. House of Representatives? **(IF YES, ASK:)** Did you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your district?

Yes -- Democratic candidate.....	33	<b>[265]</b>
Yes -- Republican candidate.....	27	
Yes -- another candidate (VOL)/not sure/refused....	5	
No, did not vote.....	31	
Not sure if voted.....	4	

F6. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	20	[266]
Married.....	62	
Separated.....	3	
Widowed.....	7	
Divorced.....	7	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F7. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	37	[267]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	62	
Not sure.....	1	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	49	<b>CONTINUE</b>	[268]
Catholic.....	30		
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	11	<b>Skip to Q.F10</b>	
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	4		

**(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F8.)**

F9. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	19	[269]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	25	
Not sure.....	5	
Non-Protestants (Q.F8).....	51	

F10. Are you a member of a labor union? **(IF "NO," ASK:)** Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	[270]
Labor union household.....	7	
Nonunion household.....	80	
Not sure.....	2	

F11. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background? (IF NO:) What is your race -- white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	6	[271]
White.....	79	
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[272]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	10	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	12	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	14	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	12	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	16	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	10	
More than \$100,000.....	10	
Not sure/refused.....	12	